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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this handbook is to encourage exchange visits between citizens of the United States and the USSR. Person-to-person encounters remain the most effective means of bringing home the reality that people from diverse cultures do share similar needs, emotions, and aspirations. The information provided is intended for individuals and groups in the United States who seek to enter the arena of U.S.-Soviet exchange, but who may have little or no prior experience in doing so. The following topics are discussed: U.S. options in hosting Soviets; who can be an American host; types of exchanges; financing; formalities with regard to the selection process, the invitation, and visas and airline tickets; and planning the visit, e.g., arrivals, field trips, home hospitality; and preparing the American hosts. The appendices contain an historical outline of U.S.-USSR cultural exchange; a listing of major Soviet organizations that could be involved in Soviet-American exchanges; a bibliography of readings for persons wanting a broad introduction to the Soviet Union and its culture; a sample invitation; background information on U.S. visas; and addresses of organizations mentioned in the handbook. (RM)

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A Handbook for American Hosts

June 1984

SP 016 127

Sponsored by
The Institute for
Soviet-American Relations

Prepared by
Delphi Research Associates

INVITING AND SPONSORING SOVIET GUESTS:

A HANDBOOK FOR AMERICAN HOSTS

JUNE 1984

Sponsored by

The Institute for Soviet-
American Relations
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Premier Yuri Andropov, January 24, 1984, response to question from Pravda:

> There is no need to convince us of the usefulness and expedience of dialogue. This is our policy.

President Ronald Reagan, January 16, 1984, Address to the Nation on U.S.-Soviet Relations:

> Neither we nor the Soviet Union can wish away the differences between our two societies and our philosophies. But we should always remember that we do have common interests. . . .
>
> . . . Expanding contacts across borders and permitting a free exchange or interchange of information and ideas increase confidence.

Premier Konstantin Chernenko, February 13, 1984, speech to Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

> We are open to peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation with the states of all continents. We are for a peaceful settlement of all disputable international problems through serious, balanced and constructive talks.

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Of particular use in the "Informal Program" section of this handbook were two previous documents: Charolett Goodwin's "Your City and the USA-USSR Citizens' Dialogue," and Yale Richmond's "Programming Soviet Visitors." Delphi Research Associates are indebted to these two authors and experienced programmers for their ideas from around the table, as well as in print. We are also grateful for the especially close reading of the text, and the many hours devoted to it, by Grant Pendill.

An advisory committee assisted in the creation of this Handbook, consisting of representatives from:

AFS International/Intercultural Programs
American Friends Service Committee, East-West Desk
Citizen Exchange Council
Esalen Soviet American Exchange
Charles F. Kettering Foundation
National Council of Churches in Christ
U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens Dialogue

The participation of Delphi Research Associates was directed by Paul Von Ward, President. The text was written and edited by Daniel Whitman.

A newsletter of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, Surviving Together, gives periodic updates of changing aspects of Soviet-American exchange. Readers of this Handbook who wish current information of this type should request the newsletter.

I. INTRODUCTION

Recent years have shown a fluctuating nature in Soviet-American relations. Official cultural and political exchanges lessen or increase due to changing world conditions, while a small but steady number of contacts occur in technical and cultural areas. Official exchange agreements set a framework which facilitates all types of exchange, private as well as government ones. During times when they are not fully operative, it is even more important that the private sector's ongoing role keep the channels of communication open.

During the same period, there have been perceptible changes in both countries: more than ever, citizens are calling for greater opportunities for exchange and communication between the two countries, as an important alternative to mounting political tensions. Moreover, it has been found that U.S. private sector organizations, generally less subject to officially defined patterns of operation than are governmental entities, can play a useful role in establishing the many bridges needed between the two peoples.

Many have done so, and have played an active role in this sort of initiative. A few representative ones are cited in this Handbook. The purpose of the Handbook is to encourage increased citizen-to-citizen exchange, particularly in sectors not previously involved.

The intention of this publication is to bring information to individuals and groups in the U.S. who seek to enter the arena of U.S.-Soviet exchange, but who may have little or no prior experience in doing so. Towards this end, the collective expertise of many practitioners has been sought and incorporated here. Some of the information culled may also be of assistance to groups who have experience in this area, but who might benefit from clarification of certain points.

As two of many U.S. organizations concerned with creating bridges of citizen-to-citizen exchange, the Institute for Soviet-American Relations and Delphi Research Associates welcome the challenge to increase the number of citizen contacts, not only as a moral responsibility, but as a learning opportunity. American experience with Soviet delegations to the U.S. has been one of fascination and promise, as well as challenge. Soviet guests have been found as personable and warm as they have been questioning and intellectually provocative.

American hosts have found that identifying and understanding the two nations' actual differences can be as mutually enriching as the attempts to bridge them; while uncovering areas of common interest and future cooperation can be deeply satisfying.

From the Soviet side, visitors to the U.S. find that their exchanges serve as an important vehicle for learning about American society and for acquiring information and impressions available in the U.S. The exchanges also afford them an opportunity to demonstrate Soviet cultural and scientific accomplishments to the U.S. public, and to share their views on differing values and perceptions.

Both sides share an interest in combatting stereotypes and misunderstandings, and in avoiding the types of political tensions which can lead to open conflict. These interests are best served by frequent communication and direct, human contact on an on-going basis. Person-to-person encounters remain the most effective means of bringing home the reality that people from diverse cultures, with differing socio-economic options, do share similar needs, emotions and aspirations.

The exchanges have not always been easy to administer: long delays in communication, and occasional cancellations, have tested programmers' mettle, and have required patience and determination in seeing the task through to the end. For the persevering, however, the rewards have been great.

During the peak year of exchange between the two countries (1978), some 53,000 Americans travelled to the Soviet Union from the U.S.,* while 12,000 Soviets visited the U.S. In 1982 the numbers dropped to 28,000 Americans and 8,000 Soviets. This Handbook represents an attempt to redress that disparity, and to stimulate interest among groups, associations and individuals which have not only the desire but the administrative and financial means for bringing Soviet citizens to the U.S. Many areas and modalities of exchange are currently being overlooked, and groups which might not have deemed themselves "qualified" indeed are, and could play a significant role in creating and maintaining the dialogue which the two countries urgently need.

It is our belief that mutual understanding comes about as much through the many human contacts which can be made on visits of all sorts, as from negotiations and exchanges at an official level. Both are necessary for a safer world; happily, the task proves to be not only necessary, but reward as well. We hope this Handbook can show how.

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* A similar or slightly lower number departed from European capitals.

II. U.S. OPTIONS IN HOSTING SOVIETS

Participants

Traditionally, exchange groups have consisted of professionals in academic, scientific, medical and artistic fields. These are fertile areas to pursue, but other possibilities are worth exploring.

Depending on the nature of your sponsoring organization, you may wish to arrange visits between leaders of your organization and those of counterpart groups in the U.S.S.R. These types of exchanges have generally been of an official nature in the past, but unofficial visits have also taken place, and are likely areas for future expansion.

Beyond instances of professional exchange, there is always the possibility of arranging an overall pairing project. Such projects can involve entire communities on both sides of the exchange and can include professional, vocational or avocational interests separately or together. They are an excellent medium for stimulating interest and discussion on a community level, using geographic location rather than thematic topics as the focus of visits. Examples of organizations pursuing efforts along these lines are Sister Cities International and the Ground Zero Pairing Project.

In the field of the performing and creative arts, in recent years it has been easier to get the participation of artists singly or in small groups, than in large ensembles such as orchestras or dance troupes. This is particularly true during periods when no formal cultural agreement exists between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and therefore government financing is not available. The potential still exists, however, for visits by musicians, film directors and art experts who may accompany Soviet exhibits. Other groups you may consider are athletes, church officials, trade representatives, scholars and youth camps with their counselors.

Do not overlook the possibility of inviting diplomats and journalists already based in the U.S.; considerable savings on international travel can be had. Such invitations can be worthwhile to Soviet officials in their own efforts to know the U.S. better. However, there are reciprocal travel restrictions on such "permanent" Soviet visitors which can usually be lifted only if Soviet officials lift similar restrictions for Americans in the U.S.S.R.

Finally, tourism is another area to be considered. Tourists make up the largest group of Americans traveling to the U.S.S.R. However, Soviet tourists travel to the U.S. infrequently. Such travel should be encouraged; you could foster it by supplementing local costs, thus reducing the need for Soviets to spend scarce "hard" currency.

In choosing the type of Soviet group or individual your group would like to host, it is important to find ways of including guests who have not previously traveled abroad, or who have not traveled to the U.S. If the person-to-person concept is to work in the long run in enhancing understanding between the two countries, it will have to involve ever-increasing numbers of individuals in the dialogue.

American Hosts

Nearly anyone or any group can be a host. National organizations with local chapters can provide an ideal structure for the administering and financing of a visit that goes from city to city in the U.S. Domestic air fare, as well as daily expense charges, can be divided among local chapters, making an exciting visit possible without burdening any one chapter too heavily. Various church groups have been active recently in taking precisely this approch, while civic and service organizations (Lions, Rotary, Kiwanis, Jaycees) have been engaged in this field for years, hosting visitors from all areas of the globe.

National organizations already established, which are likely to have a chapter in your city, include:

American Friends Service Committee
Council on World Affairs
World Trade Council
YWCA, YMCA
League of Women Voters
World Federalists
Fellowship of Reconciliation
National Council of Churches
United Nations Association
National Council for International Visitors
Chamber of Commerce
American Bar Association
4-H
American Field Service
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Church Women United

Academic exchange may be sponsored through a university in your area, in departments such as Physical Sciences, International Business, Business Administration, International Relations, Political Science, and Campus Ministries.

Single undergraduates at present are not a likely target for exchange, while groups directed by a group leader are. Outside of group projects, individual academic exchanges should expect more success with advanced graduate students and research professors.

Virtually any religious, civic or special interest group can be a hosting organization--women's groups, religious organizations, professional associations--while even avocational clubs such as philately, photography, sports, art, or horticulture can be involved.

If your group has experience in hosting international visitors, it should consider including Soviets in its already established program; if not, facilitating organizations exist which, for a fee, can do as much or as little of the administrative work as you wish. Some, but not all, of these are listed in the Appendix to this Handbook.

Initiating Visits

Type and character of a visit are virtually without limit. Scholarly and professional exchanges can take the form of a lecture circuit for one individual, or of presentations at conferences for several; visits may be one-time only, or continuing and reciprocal. They may include research grants for advanced scholars, or visits for special-interest groups within the academic community, such as women. The Committee for National Security, by contacting the individuals they wanted, especially from the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies, was able to get speakers for a panel series.

Three federally chartered, private organizations in the U.S. which are currently active in the field of advanced academic exchange are the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), the National Academy of Sciences, and the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE). IREX and the National Academy sponsor individual graduate research projects, conferences, workshops, exchanges of data and parallel and joint research. The CIEE operates out of New York and Leningrad and runs undergraduate exchange programs. These three organizations administer the greater part of academic exchange under sponsorship.

A number of private organizations administer academic exchange as well. The American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) focuses its efforts primarily towards American students and scholars studying at the Pushkin Institute in Moscow.

An excellent example of bilateral exchange between specific universities is that of the State University of New York at Albany with the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages on the one hand, and with Moscow State University (MGU) on the other. The Thorez Exchange was established in 1974 and exchanges undergraduate students each fall semester. The Moscow State University Exchange began in 1977 and exchanges graduate students and faculty each year. Smaller programs exist in conjunction with Bryn Mawr College, Ohio State University, the University of Missouri, and others. Although some involve the participation of only one scholar per year, this type of program can be very rewarding for all parties, and can lead to wider participation once the process of ongoing contact becomes developed to the satisfaction of both parties.

When considering academic exchange, a valuable contact is the European Programs Branch of the Office of Academic Exchange, U.S.I.A. This office cannot, of course, negotiate for you or establish the linkage you seek; but it can provide valuable advice and guidance, and has done so for the currently existing programs.

Church groups have had an increasing role in Soviet-American exchanges in recent years. U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace has promoted a number of successful initiatives and has served as a network organization for church groups of various denominations. In the U.S.S.R., Bridges for Peace is in touch with the Soviet Peace Committee, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society, the Committee on Youth Organizations, and the Soviet Women's Committee.

Other types of exchange can involve public appearances by Soviet individuals and groups, as has been the case when Soviet experts have been called upon to address American professional groups, legislative panels, and conferences.

Innovative possibilities may exist for hosting young Soviet professionals as interns in relevant offices and agencies. Delphi Research Associates is currently exploring this possibility as a way of enhancing its international program while at the same time providing a unique experience for the participant. The New England Society of Newspaper Editors is working on a similar exchange of young working journalists.

Youth organizations have been the focal point for other types of exchange. AFS International/Intercultural Programs has administered a successful teacher exchange, enabling six Soviets to teach Russian language and culture in the U.S. for a ten-week period, while six Americans work in the Soviet Union. AFS has recently added to its activities a reciprocal one-month exchange of youth leaders, with delegations exchanging visits each year.

In making plans for the delegation you may wish to host, there can be advantages in working with a U.S. organization experienced in the field, which has sponsored exchange of its own recently. Such organizations can be enlisted either in an advisory capacity, or can be engaged to do some of the preparatory administrative tasks. The Citizen Exchange Council, Delphi Research Associates, and AFS International/Intercultural Program are examples of organizations equipped to do this. The American Council for Teachers of Russian has a record of invitations on a name basis.

Among many possible examples we cite the following as groups which have successfully created Soviet exchange projects as one component of their programs. These are not necessarily organizations able to facilitate or arrange your program, but, rather, groups existing for different purposes and which nevertheless successfully included Soviet exchange among their other activities:

-The National Council of Churches is experimenting with four pilot projects in 1984, which will explore the possibilities of exchange of church groups.

-Athletes United for Peace has sponsored conferences dealing with the nuclear arms race and international sports-related peace trips between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

-The Esalen Soviet-American Exchange has arranged exchanges for a wide variety of participants, including young political leaders, Olympic athletes, and professionals involved in food production and health.

- The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens Dialogue involves a variety of people who are committed to their own organization within their respective communities. Seeking an open approach in a non-confrontational setting, participants in this program discuss the political, economic and social differences of the systems within small discussion groups.

- Bridges for Peace has organized exchange programs, conferences and publications since 1978. Working in conjunction with the United Church of Christ, it facilitates a network for numerous church groups which have opted to pool their resources and sponsor exchanges collectively.

These few examples do not tell the entire story of the many groups of diverse character and experience which now find themselves working with common goals.

III. FINANCING

Of the various difficulties in realizing a successful exchange program, financing is perhaps the most serious. It should be considered as early as possible in the process. Even with the best intentions and most honorable motivation, the hard fact remains that significant sums of money are frequently necessary in order to bring a visitor to the U.S.

There are two kinds of costs: (1) travel from the U.S.S.R. to North America, and (2) travel and maintenance on this continent. Soviet visitors can purchase with their own currency Aeroflot tickets for travel between the U.S.S.R. and the point closest to their U.S. destination, which in early 1984 was either Montreal or Mexico City. They must be informed whether you expect them to cover that cost, or whether you are prepared to pay for international travel.

Rubles cannot legally be taken out of the U.S.S.R., and only in small amounts be exchanged in the U.S.S.R. for dollars or other Western currencies. Therefore it is difficult for Soviet citizens to finance, on their own, their travel within the U.S. Aside from a limited amount of pocket money (in dollars), most Soviet visitors have difficulty arriving in the U.S. with currency for the payment of their travel or maintenance.

Thus, in order for you or your organization to consider hosting a Soviet delegation or individual, you must seriously assess your ability to finance the visit. It may be your obligation, before or after their arrival on this continent, to take complete charge of the Soviet visitor's expenses, including lodging, meals, internal transportation and incidentals. When invited by the U.S. Information Agency, official visitors to the U.S. are given $94 per day by the government -- not including interurban transport. This may be more than your organization will need to spend, but can serve as a standard to go by; it is what the U.S. government considers necessary for visitor maintenance while in the country.

There are ways of economizing on these expenses. Hotel and other costs will be less in smaller cites than in Washington or New York. These costs can be greatly reduced by eliminating hotel bills altogether; home hospitality can be provided in lieu of expense money for room and board. Also, bus instead of plane tickets can be provided (depending on time and distance requirements) as well as cars driven by volunteers. All this depends, of course, on your association's financial capabilities, and the level of comfort required or expected by your visitor.

Past experience in this area brings a few considerations to light:

- Government officials and high-level professionals from any country expect fully adequate per diem allowances when accepting an invitation, and failure to do so can sour a visit;

- Younger people, students and informal tourists have fewer such requirements;

- Some organizations have found it advisable to provide visitors their lodging and/or meals directly, rather than the money to pay themselves (while providing a small sum per day for incidentals). Foreign guests often find that this can smooth the operation of their visit, and free them of having to monitor their funds closely. For organizations taking either this option or that of remitting per diem money to the visitors, it is advisable to be in touch with the local chapter of the National Council for International Visitors, which is often able to get significantly reduced rates at hotels;

- It is advisable to settle funding and facility arrangements in writing, in advance, as part of the agreement with the visitor or delegation, so that no misunderstandings arise after it is too late to correct them.

Some American associations have found in the past that where no outside funding source exists, raffles, pot luck dinners, benefits, etc. can actually supply the monies necessary to sponsor a visitor. Also, nationwide organizations with chapters in different U.S. cities are at an advantage since the administrative and financial tasks can be more widely distributed. A good formula is to host a visitor in the various cities which have local chapters of a given organization, with each local chapter financing the costs of that city's visit.

Reciprocity

The Soviets call this "non-currency exchanges" (bezvalyutniy obmen--exchange in kind), and it can be a useful mechanism for reducing costs as well as motivating local support of your project. The principle of reciprocity is familiar to the Soviet side in exchanges of this sort as the tried and true method of facilitating exchanges over a twenty-five year period. Your own familiarity with the concept will enhance your credibility when dealing with Soviet officials during the preliminary steps of the exchange.

According to this practice, the "sending side" pays for the visitor's international travel to and from the country to be visited, while the "receiving side" assumes responsibility for all domestic travel and living expenses. If reciprocity has been opted for, then the exact same principles apply during the return visit, only with the roles reversed.

The expectations of a return visit to the Soviet Union, with no costs to pay there, can serve as a useful incentive for hosting organizations to meet the financing needs of an incoming delegation.

Reciprocity should be used within certain limits, however: any organization has budgetary restraints, and Soviet organizations have limits to the number of reciprocal visits they can finance from their side, just as U.S. organizations do.

When you wish to include reciprocity as a condition of your invitation, you should be clear about this in the invitation. This will, of course, add some time to the process of getting a definite response to your invitation from the Soviet side.

When you wish not to go by the principle of reciprocity, you should be clear about your own reasons for doing so, which in most cases will be a philosphical commitment to bringing a greater number of Soviets to the U.S. in order to redress the current imbalance. In such a case, you my wish to state in your invitation that you are suspending this principle because of your special interest in hosting this individual or delegation. Again, it will enhance your credibility at least to acknowledge the reciprocity principle, even as you opt against it.

While reciprocity may not always be the best option, the receiving side principle (domestic travel and living expenses paid by the host) will nearly always hold, except in cases where a certain Soviet visitor you want may be unable to finance his/her travel to the U.S. at the time you have in mind. In such a case you may wish to make an exception and finance the visitor's entire visit, including the international travel. However, this is not the normal conduct in dealing from one organization to another.

IV. FORMALITIES

It is desirable to have specific ideas about the people you wish to invite. Having personal contacts and names of individuals can speed up the selection process and assure you the type of guest you really want. Ideally you might consider traveling to the Soviet Union to identify and invite the participant directly; sometimes a trip to Moscow for some other purpose can have this double function. Where this is not possible, you should try to enlist the aid of other Americans traveling to the Soviet Union, or at least get ideas from persons recently returned from trips there.

It is preferable to select individuals who are affiliated with groups, institutes or ministries which can serve as sponsoring organizations, rather than "non-connected" nominees whose travel authorizations will be more difficult to process. If you are able to travel to Moscow, it is advisable to contact professional organizations there whose interests coincide with yours.

More and more American organizations are finding success in getting the individual visitors they want - with the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange, the Citizen Exchange Council and IREX the prime examples. The American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) has also brought a number of leading Soviet scholars to the U.S. for periods ranging from two to three weeks to six months.

Those who have been successful report that in the Soviet bureaucracy, as in the American one, an early negative response may sometimes be less than definitive, and if handled skillfully, can lead to discussion and a give-and-take process which can leave both parties satisfied. Sometimes the Soviets will propose solutions to you, which you yourself might not have imagined. Just keep in mind that an administrative "no" may be based on their justified institutional principles, whereas a common will to work things out might lead to acceptable solutions.

American organizations taking this tack also report that you will be successful in getting the individual you want to the extent that you can justify your choice, both to yourself and to Soviet organizations.

Do your recruiting directly if possible. If you cannot, a second possibility is to request that the Soviet sponsoring organization--which you should choose carefully--do your selection for you. In arranging a lecture series recently, the U.S. Committee for National Security successfully invited individuals by contacting them through a sponsoring organization (the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies) and then exchanged letters with them, sending copies to both embassies.

Even when you give the selection process entirely over to a sponsoring Soviet organization, you may wish to retain some control over the outcome, and there are ways of doing this. In the interest of getting visitors who have not yet traveled to the U.S., (which means tactfully and regretfully passing up those who have), you can make certain requests or requirements: ask for a wider geographic distribution, request visitors from regions other than the capital; lean towards participants under a certain age;

introduce new professional areas which depart from the traditional content, thereby tapping new resources. It is also always possible to specify that you would like a group with some high-level officials, but also an assured number of junior officials. This type of request can give you a more diversified group, and speed the process of increasing the numbers of citizens on both sides who are exposed to the benefits of exchange.

The guiding principle in all three of these approaches is to demonstrate both trust and reliability, in the hopes of building long-term relationships with the Soviet sponsoring organization. Like any human entity, such organizations function properly from a level of trust and familiarity, and they tend to perform best for those they know best. This is not intended to discourage American organizations who lack a track record in dealing with Soviet exchanges or who mean to arrange a one-time-only visit. It is, simply, a reflection of the conditions under which you will have the greatest control of the selection process. Having less control is acceptable, too, and can result in fine programs. You have advantages as a private sector organization compared to official entities. You are freer to experiment and explore new avenues. There are instances in which private organizations have succeeded in promoting exchanges that the governments, by their nature, could not. The governments benefitted by that exchange and successfully followed up with similar ventures.

A final word on the selection process: as the statistics indicate, for most Soviet citizens an invitation to visit the U.S. is an unusual opportunity. Since you have the responsibility and are investing the effort, you will want to guide the process. Stereotypes of obdurate bureaucrats and red tape have some basis in fact in any large governmental structure, but they are only that -- stereotypes. The creative, flexible and persevering approach can uncover solutions not previously imagined. Being prepared for disappointment, while being willing to devote labor and ingenuity to the process, can produce good effects.

The Invitation

Any official communication you engage in should be in writing, whether by letter or telex. Copies of everything may also be sent to both embassies (see Appendix for addresses). The U.S. Embassy in Moscow and the U.S. Consulate in Leningrad may assist you in transmitting your message.

The initial contact is normally a simple query, asking whether the group or individual would be interested in coming to the U.S. At this stage it is advisable to find out any specific requirements to be included in the invitation.

Given a positive response, the actual invitation should then be issued in both English and Russian, wherever possible. An invitation in English can be translated into Russian in the Soviet Union if necessary. It must include the name of the applicant, the name of the inviting organization or individual, the dates, places and purpose of the visit. This is necessary for the Soviet sponsoring organizations, which will require as much infor-

mation as possible before being able to facilitate the exit visa process. The U.S. Embassy in Moscow will also need the information for consideration in granting a visitor's entry visa. Again, copies of all correspondence should be sent to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, and the Public Cultural Exchange Office of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

It is important to reach an understanding on how the financial aspects of the trip are to be handled. It is preferable to avoid citing dollar figures you are committing to your visitors' daily expenses: it is better to define the types of expenses which will be covered (presumably room, board, incidentals and domestic U.S. travel). But you must spell this out as clearly as possible.

Be prepared for a year or more to elapse from the time of initial correspondence to the actual time of the visit. While usually cooperative, Soviet sponsoring organizations have certain administrative limits, and generally must plan a year ahead; in cases where they are equipped to facilitate and monitor international exchanges, they have countries other than the U.S. with which to work as well, and often have a large number of requests to process. Patience will serve you well, since the process takes considerable time on the U.S. side as well as in the U.S.S.R.

Depending on how you want to handle the process, and the degree of control you want to have over it, administrative costs may reach several thousand dollars on your part for the recruiting and invitation phases. For optimal recruiting procedure there will be cables and letters to transmit, as well as exploratory and recruiting trips to finance. Your option as an organization will be either to reserve funds yourself for the necessary overhead, or contract the work out to experienced organizations with the administrative staff necessary to perform this function. Examples of such organizations are included in the Appendix of this Handbook.

When issuing invitations you will also need to consider the question of large versus small groups. Generally small groups allow for more direct contact between visitors and hosts, and experience has shown that smaller groups generally produce a better exchange experience than larger ones, although larger groups may be split down into manageable subgroups of two to four persons.

In cases where you are actually interested in a single individual, you should know that solo travel is not always possible for Soviet citizens, whereas an alternate possibility is to invite the visitor you want as a member of a small delegation. There is precedent enough for delegations as small as two or three.

When dealing with Soviet sponsoring organizations, it is useful to know that many of them have regional affiliates in the various Republics. It is possible to deal with those branches directly, or to request their inclusion in a program facilitated by the central office in Moscow. The sponsoring organization can be of assistance to you, both in identifying guests and in facilitating the exit formalities for the members you wish to invite. For a partial list of Soviet sponsoring organizations, please see the Appendix of this Handbook.

Visas and Airline Tickets

The visa process - both exit and entry - will be greatly facilitated if you keep the appropriate ministry and Soviet sponsoring organization, as well as both embassies, apprised of your communications. Copies of all correspondence should also be sent to the concerned parties. The Baker Amendment to the McCarren Immigration Act forbids the granting of U.S. visas to Soviet trade union officials when coming on trade union business. Visas may be granted to such officials under certain circumstances, when they visit the U.S. for purposes other than trade union missions. Please see the Appendix of this Handbook for a further discussion of visas.

With respect to the use of airlines, the regulations as of early 1984 were these: Soviet citizens may purchase Aeroflot tickets with connections from Montreal or Mexico City to their initial U.S. city (usually New York). But because of the non-convertibility of rubles for Western curencies, they cannot purchase domestic U.S. tickets. In addition, the Civil Aeronautics Board now prohibits the use within the U.S. of tickets bought through Aeroflot. It is also forbidden to honor an "interline" ticket written for a U.S. airline, when that ticket has been issued on Aeroflot ticket stock. This means that an individual travelling on an Aeroflot ticket, arriving from Montreal or Mexico City to any U.S. city, will have to travel on a non-U.S. airline (such as Air Canada) to the final U.S. destination.

With visitors invited to the U.S.S.R. through Soviet sponsoring organizations, Intourist will generally handle their international tickets. This is an internal matter in the U.S.S.R., and nothing needing action on your part.

V. PROGRAMMING

Formal Planning

It is important to discuss itineraries and plans as much as possible in advance, and at least get your guests' general agreement in advance on the options you propose. On the other hand, you will also want to provide for as much flexibility as possible as the daily program unfolds.

If the event you are planning is a scholarly or scientific conference, it is best to exchange advance copies of papers to be presented from both sides. Translations should be provided, if possible.

It is also advisable to settle in advance the way you intend to finance the trip: will you issue a per diem account to each visitor, or will you settle the hotel bills yourself, and give the visitors a correspondingly smaller daily sum? Many programmers have found the latter option the more graceful, since it gives the group more of a feeling of being taken in hand, and also eliminates the issue of prices of hotel rooms as a daily matter.

Most Soviet delegations will arrive with a selected leader--the starosta (elder)--with whom you will want to settle such issues. The tradition of having one person responsible for these matters actually makes things easier on you, the programmer, since you will get definitive answers to your questions relatively easily.

You can discuss with the group leader matters such as clearance for media interviews, communiques and press releases, as well as for home hospitality which divides the group. The latter has become easier to arrange in recent years, and Soviet visitors tend to be enthusiastic about it; nevertheless it is polite to ask before making arrangements.

As you are planning the professional content of your programs, you should know of the so-called "closed areas." These are geographical areas of the U.S. which are off-limits to Soviet diplomats and accredited journalists stationed in the U.S. There is generally no restriction of this sort for Soviet short-term, unofficial visitors, though you may need to get U.S. clearance for visits to certain scientific and research installations.

Recently, the Department of State issued a revised map of those regions of the United States denied access to Soviet official personnel. A memo of explanation in October 1983 stated,
"The new map received a great deal of publicity and, in the process, appears to have confused many people on precisely which Soviet citizens are denied access to these areas. Closed areas delineated in the map apply in practice primarily to the travel of Soviet diplomats and press correspondents assigned to the U.S. These restrictions, under normal circumstances, are not applied to the travel of visiting Soviet scientists and exchange scholars and therefore, would not apply to travel under the official bilateral agreements."

Copies of the map--"Areas and Municipalities in the U.S. Open or Closed to Travel by Soviet Official Personnel"--are available at the Office of Soviet Affairs, State Department, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Advance planning will also be required, of course, for any press coverage you wish to arrange. You should clear any media events with your Soviet guests ahead of time.

You will want to take into consideration the appearance of U.S. holidays--national as well as religious--on the calendar. It is important not to leave a visitor in a hotel room during such a period, but to include him/her in whatever celebrations are taking place. Soviet holidays, incidentally, occur on January 1, March 8 and 24, May 1 and 9, and November 7.

Even when planning the professional aspect of a visit, it is best to create at least some informal component to the program: Soviet visitors are usually keen on knowing their professional counterparts not only in their official capacity, but in their personal lives. To the extent possible, the visitor should be introduced to the daily routine of their American colleagues (a medical doctor, for instance, could be taken on an impromptu tour of a hospital), and to their home and family life. It is when they see all these aspects that they generally are the most pleased by their professional visits.

In selecting visits it is also advisable to take a somewhat different tack than the Soviets themselves would. Rather than hasten to the very best and most advanced example of your professional content, let the visitor see the whole spectrum from his/her own professional area. This will establish greater credibility for the programmer and the program itself.

One example of how this may be done is that of the farm visit: rather than pre-select a series of impressive sites, you can take the Soviet through an agricultural area, and while driving along ask the visitor to choose which farm to visit. This technique has been used with great success in overcoming the feeling that the selection of sites has been artificial.

A cardinal rule, in fact, the Eleventh Commandment, in arranging visits is DON'T OVERPROGRAM. Filling the day with visits, receptions and formal meals is a sign of amateurism in programming, and almost always works at cross purpose to a successful outcome. Visitors need to digest what they have seen, wander on their own, and have time to themselves. Sufficient rest is essential if they are to approach their visits with the objectivity and sensitivity you want them to have. It is also important to program sufficient time for each visit, so all the issues can be explored. Nothing is more frustrating to a visitor than being dragged away from a lively discussion, for the sake of a packed time schedule.

For all these reasons, the guiding principle is: LESS IS MORE. The ideal is one substantive morning visit, and one substantive afternoon visit, with whatever you like in the evening. Period.

Also, it is not realistic to plan to show your guest all of the U.S.A. in two weeks. It takes at least two to three days in a new place for guests to familiarize themselves enough to get beyond superficial observations and into some depth of exposure and understanding. In addition it is advisable to compare the program in one city with another, so as to avoid duplication.

The Language Issue

The language gap is something to plan for, but is not an insurmountable problem.

The first thing to be aware of is how much better most Soviets' English is, than most Americans' Russian. Many Soviet professionals have at least a smattering of English, and some speak quite well.

Still, you will not often encounter an entire delegation independent of the need for interpreting, nor should you want to. Soviets who speak no English have a definite, valuable role to play in exchanges, and during the selection process should never be passed over on that basis alone. Even Soviets who speak some English may prefer to use Russian in communicating.

In most cases, you will need to engage an experienced interpreter. In the views of some, this will be your most important decision in arranging your program. An interpreter can determine the very mood of the delegation, not only through his/her rendering of Russian statements into English, but during the "off" moments as Soviets sift through their impressions and share their thoughts while travelling about the country.

Don't forget that consecutive interpretation will double the length of a meeting, and thereby reduce the amount of content you can hope for. It is also somewhat wearing on all parties. Simultaneous interpretation is professionally your best option, but it will not always be advisable or possible. The simultaneous option brings with it three requirements, the first two of which are costly:

1. Interpreters will work only in pairs or threes when doing simultaneous interpreting;

2. Interpreting equipment may be necessary (booth, amplifier, earphones and technician, to the tune of as much as $1,000 a day);

3. Simultaneous interpretation is best executed in a room with good acoustics, and with people seated: site visits do not lend themselves to this, unless special portable equipment is available.

In finding an interpreter you may wish to avail yourself of a local resource, such as the language department of a university; or your local yellow pages (the listing is usually "translation"); or the facilitating agencies at the back of this Handbook. It is not advisable for the organizers of an exchange or conference to attempt to do much interpreting

themselves. Interpreting is a demanding and exhausting task, which will leave you little energy for a substantive role in the organization. Soviet organizations experienced in hosting American groups are well aware of the function of the escort/interpreter, and do not try to double up the roles of host and interpreter.

In programming your group, even if you have hired an interpreter, you will want to involve other members of the community who can contribute. Language departments of local colleges are sometimes overlooked as an obvious source of interest and even services to your program. Also, even if your visitors can say only "let's go" and you "da" and "nyet," that alone, plus liberal use of body language, can get across a surprising number of messages and even create a sort of communication of its own.

Arrivals

At the initial arrival at the airport, Soviets will probably have little Western money, and you should generally provide the initial expenses you have agreed to cover. Whenever possible it is a nice touch to have a welcoming reception, involving all the co-sponsoring groups. Local officials should be enlisted to the extent that they are willing, and where the mayor can attend and present a symbolic key to the city, this will impress your delegation very favorably.

From the start, it is a good idea to lay out the detailed program. An indispensable way of making this clear is to have it in writing--in Russian if at all possible. Included should be descriptive brochures of local sights, and a map for walking tours. Soviet groups tend to be very appreciative of an initial bus or car tour of the area. This gives them a feel for where they are and what is around them, and it also provides them the independence they usually like, to explore further on foot by themselves. Keep in mind during your orientation tour that Soviets like to see how people live and play as well as work.

Informal Program

Those who have previous experience will be familiar with the principles outlined here. For those who do not, it may be useful to point out that most Soviet visitors other than tourists will be invited for some specific professional or other objective; this is as it should be, and these professional visits should be as broad and deep as possible. However, hosts and sponsoring organizations should realize that Soviet visitors usually come with an intense personal interest in the American society, economy and culture, and in many cases they have a good bit of formal training about the U.S. as well.

It is therefore advisable wherever possible to supplement formal professional visits with activities of a more general nature. This is done for two reasons--or, really, two aspects of the same reason: to present American society as fully and as fairly as possible to visitors, and to satisfy the interests which Soviet visit[illegible]will express. Visits of this

sort not only respond to the personal curiosity and interests of the sensitive visitor, but also serve as a concrete focal point for illustrating the actual differences (and similarities) of the two systems, and as a point of departure for stimulating discussions on those comparisons. Though visitors will retain or develop their own judgments of what they see, they will have more concrete understanding and justification of their point of view. This can be beneficial in the long run.

Items found to be of interest generally to Soviet visitors, and which are also highly useful in presenting American society, include farms and factories, universities and public schools, small towns and villages, youth groups and activities, sports organizations, churches and religious institutions, housing for all income brackets, minority groups and areas, press/media, and unique America, such as Disney World and Hollywood.

These, we feel, are important elements any exchange visit should include. It is of course important to tailor these visits to the interests of the Soviet guests. The following clarifications may help you in deciding how to orient your non-professional visits*:

FARM VISIT

Many Soviet citizens have cultural roots in agriculture and they have a high interest in agriculture. A visit to a farm can be to either a large corporate farm or a smaller, family farm. If you have a choice and there is time for only one, the family farm is preferred, to show what can be accomplished with a small labor force, good machinery, and self-management. All kinds of farms will be of interest, depending on your geographic region and what is grown there.

UNIVERSITY

Soviet higher education is free but does not reach as many young people proportionately as does U.S. higher education. Soviets tend to believe that U.S. higher education is only for those in higher income brackets; accordingly, if there is a choice between a public or private university, the public is preferable because of its lower cost to students. Don't forget community colleges, an institution unknown to the Soviets, who have very broad correspondence courses, but one which would serve their interests in continuing education.

*From Yale W. Richmond, "Programming Soviet Visitors," Coserv, 1977, and Charolett Goodwin, "Your City and the USA-USSR Citizens' Dialogue," 1982.

FACTORY VISIT

This is another must if you can arrange it, since the Soviets regard theirs as a society of workers. They want to see factories and working places from the inside, including working conditions, recreation and health facilities.

PRESS

A visit to your local newspaper is often useful. Who makes decisions, who decides what to report and how to play it, what role do the publishers, advertisers, and local interests play? How does a newspaper decide what to report about the Soviet Union and what position to take on US-Soviet relations? These are some of the questions that should be answered in a visit to a local newspaper. To bring the discussion from the theoretical to the practical, it is often helpful for the editor to take that day's edition, go over the front page or the entire edition, and explain what is being reported that day and why.

THE SMALL TOWN

There are 21 Soviet cities with a population of more than one million. However, what many Soviets seek to understand is the small city or town, and the county seat - urban regions to which they can relate and make comparisons. It is therefore useful to include at least one small town on each itinerary, perhaps in conjunction with a farm visit. If you can't make it to a rural area, there are plenty of small towns around our large cities where a weekend can be spent. Like most visitors, Soviets inevitably enjoy the small town visit, and they gain from it a greater understanding of the American people than they would in a large metropolis.

YOUTH

Many Soviet visitors complain at the end of their visit that they have not seen any young Americans. They have many of the same questions about youth that we do. Try to work some youth activities into your program to show youth life styles, concerns and opportunities.

MINORITY GROUPS

Soviets, coming from a multi-ethnic society, are interested in our minority groups. Try to work in some meetings, visits to homes, schools, and churches. Make sure there is sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views.

In addition, certain other programming aspects should be taken into account:

-Depending upon the season, take the group to a local sports event, or any other special event which may coincide with the Soviet visit.

-Provide musical entertainment, some of which might have its origins in your area:

- bluegrass/folk singing
- jazz
- disco
- square dancing
- symphony
- opera

-For those Soviet guests who are comfortable with the English language and are articulate on the issues of concern, arrange for

- newspaper editorial meetings
- radio and television talk shows
- lectures at nearby schools and universities--either in individual class rooms or in an assembly.

Bear in mind, however, that while it is desired to have maximum exposure of this exchange, a chief goal of this program is also to have dialogue with people in ordinary settings. Thus, the exchange should not be primarily a media event.

Home Hospitality

Soviets are very curious about how Americans live. Whenever possible try to arrange home hospitality with a host of the same profession or occupation. Seeing how someone in the same work lives is very meaningful. While Soviets normally travel as a group with a leader or spokesman and wish to stay together during a project, they are frequently willing to divide up into ones, twos, or threes for home hospitality. In any case, the national program officer should consult the visitors in advance to be certain they are prepared for this.

When having Soviet guests overnight in the home, the following matters should be provided for:

- Have at least one Soviet guest of a pair who speaks fairly fluent English, or else include an interpreter;

- Leave time for rest and for casual conversation in the home;

- Provide individual trips to a shopping center or wherever the guests would like to go during free time;

- Provide adequate private time for each guest.

When considering home hospitality, it is important to be sensitive to the unease any guest would feel should a child or any other member of the family be displaced in order to make room for the guest.

There is also the already delicate matter of reciprocity to consider. Copious hospitality which cannot be reciprocated will also cause discomfort; recent experience has shown, however, that it is increasingly common for reciprocity of this type actually to take place. Soviets tend to be very hospitable, and will want to reciprocate any invitations they receive in the U.S. Soviet hospitality and gift-giving are an intrinsic part of their culture, and they are generally pleased to see their own, sincere generosity reflected in another culture. In any case, where there is any doubt it is better to err on the side of allowing the visitor to have this unique experience. It is often the part of the program which will be the best remembered and cherished, by guests and hosts alike.

Economy and budget should never be the only reason for opting for home hospitality. And even where the home stay is intrinsically a part of your institutional philosophy (as is with AFS International, for example), you should consider alternating home stays with hotel sojourns. Most travellers like to withdraw to privacy on occasion, and the alternating method can give them that opportunity.

Diet and Gifts

Finally, a word on these two important details. Regarding diet, Soviets tend to eat a full breakfast and lunch, but light dinner. Any sophisticated traveler knows that he/she must adapt to local custom, and you should not alter your usual routine or habits for the sake of a visitor. But if you have a degree of flexibility, particularly in the early, jet-lag phase, this can be of some comfort to the guest.

Soviets are accustomed to having soups and good bread frequently on the menu. It is by no means a requirement that you provide this at all times, but you may wish to keep it in mind. But Soviets do want most of all to see how you live.

Also, gift-giving during visits is very much a part of Soviet custom. The appropriate way to do this is to try to learn your visitors' personal interests as you get to know them, and to offer them a gift in line with those interests at the end of the trip. You can anticipate similar treatment from them, and when it happens it is nice not to be empty-handed.

VI. PREPARING THE AMERICAN HOSTS

Some differences exist between hosting Soviet groups and others, and it will pay to lend some special attention to these differences. Whatever attitude motivates your American hosts to participate in your program, they will surely bring with them either some strong political or emotional convictions, or at least an intense curiosity. The same will be true of the Soviet visitors.

Your challenge will be to channel these energies into a dialogue which can actually lead to better understanding on both sides; this is not always an easy task.

In the advance planning of your exchange, you may wish to present orientation seminars for your American hosts. If you have the expertise on your staff to do this, then plan to utilize it wherever possible. In cases where you need to bring outside people, consider your local university, as well as the facilitating organizations equipped to do this.

The only established orientation program of which we are aware is that of AFS International/Intercultural Programs, which for a fee can send an orientation team to your city. The State University of New York at Albany runs a formal orientation for its own staff, given by former American participants of its exchange program with Moscow State University (MGU) and the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages. This is not generally a program available to organizations outside of SUNY, but its staff can answer your queries and make recommendations.

For a reading list to enhance your orientation seminars, see the Appendix to this Handbook.

Issues Requiring Sensitivity

Certain principles apply in finding courteous and effective ways of relating to Soviet groups. The following issues are likely to arise in the course of your exchange. You need not view them as problems, but as matters you will want to anticipate.

1. As mentioned above, most Soviet groups will come with an official leader with whom you may discuss the fine points of the program. Any discussions about program changes, or other matters which affect the group as a whole, should be brought to this person, and perhaps to the entire group. When changes are requested which you feel would damage your relationship to your local contacts, it is perfectly acceptable for you to explain this to your Soviet guests. If the change has been requested at the last minute, and if you feel you cannot comply, then explain the problem, be patient, and be firm.

If any serious difference of views should arise between you and your Soviet visitors, talk it over. Often the most serious difference can be settled amicably, but you need to let them talk about the problem as they see it, then explain your own views, and seek an acceptable solution. Be patient, keep talking, and don't give up. Don't forget that one part of the reason for these exchanges, and a good deal of their importance, is that Americans and Soviets learn how to get along in a shrinking world.

2. Regarding sensitive questions such as human rights, the arms race, etc., you should not be overly concerned about taboos you may imagine. On the contrary, it is important that Soviets be asked questions about matters Americans need to know better; as often as not, the visitors are pleased to have an opportunity to state their views. You should bear in mind that most Soviet visitors will be here in semi-official status, rather than as strictly private individuals, and they are seen both by their government and by themselves as a source of information about official Soviet views and policies.

Very often it is not so much the question, as the manner in which the question is asked, which determines how the visitor reacts. If you can convey your sincere interest in understanding the Soviet point of view you will merit and get, a franker and more authentic answer from the visitor. You will also increase the quality of later dialogues, and the probability of getting sincere, personal views on the visitors' part.

You may wish to bear in mind the natural human tendency to answer questions one way in large public gatherings, and another in smaller, more intimate settings. The larger and more formal the setting, the more likely you are to have your questions answered with prepared statements, rather than personal sentiments, with an opportunity for give-and-take exploration in depth.

With any visitor from any country, it is polite to drop a subject of conversation when the visitor chooses not to pursue it. This is particularly true in large public settings.

3. There are a number of aspects about the Soviet Union which many Americans do not know. You can perform a great service by informing your hosts of these things, in cases where they may not have extensive experience with Soviet groups. It is essential, in fact, to provide basic information on the geography, national leaders' names, history and population of the Soviet Union. In addition, certain facts about the country should be brought out.The four points below are only a point of departure; you should add to them your own ideas based on experiences of bringing together Soviet and American groups:

- "Soviet" vs. "Russian": not all Soviets are Russians. The latter are the largest ethnic group in the Soviet Union, but number only half the total population. Soviet delegations coming to the U.S. usually include representatives of the non-Russian "nationality" groups. Soviets are proud of their nationality within the Soviet Union, and will not hesitate to tell you what it is, if asked.

- Minority and language issues: the Soviet Union consists of fifteen Republics with some 100 nationalities and many languages. Soviets are proud of their ethnic diversity, in a similar way as Americans are of theirs.

- World War II victims: by anybody's standards, the suffering in the Soviet Union during World War II was intense, with 20,000,000 victims as compared to about half a million Americans. Soviets often point out that the war was fought on Soviet soil, with more devastating effects than any war fought by the U.S. This remains a highly charged and emotional issue in the U.S.S.R., and underlies many of their foreign policy options which they sincerely perceive as defensive.

As with many Western countries, the younger the citizen, the less directly he/she will sense the importance of the World War II experience.

- Education: generally speaking, Soviet citizens are better informed about the U.S. than Americans are about the U.S.S.R. Most Soviet professionals have at least a smattering of English, can name at least a dozen American officials in their field, and know the names of the major cities in the U.S., while the reverse is not usually true.

From this you should not necessarily infer, however, that your Soviet guests come with a clear understanding of the American system. The aspect which is generally the greatest surprise for Soviets is the decentralized nature of American government. In the Soviet Union most decisions are made on a national basis, or to a lesser extent in the various republics. This is the case in most western European countries as well.

Government in the U.S, by contrast, is decentralized with many decisions made at the local level. In meetings with Soviets, whether they be held in local government offices, industrial enterprises or educational institutions, it is useful to explain the range of decisions made at that level without being referred to a higher authority. This may surprise your visitors, but it is useful in conveying a clear picture of the system.

4. Some Americans are taken aback when they encounter Soviet criticisms of capitalism and the American political and social system. The most important thing in reacting to criticism of any type is not to see it as a personal affront (which it almost never is), and to maintain your objectivity.

Often such criticism, and the response to it, can hang abstractly in the air until there is some concrete point of reference. This is why it is desirable to have substantive site visits in your program, which can form a context for your discussions later.

When you feel that certain criticisms are unjustified or aggressive, the important thing is to avoid belligerence on the one hand, and false agreement on the other. This may be easier said than done, but it must at least be said: listen, understand, incorporate, keep cool and stay rational, for it is the only attitude which can promote a true exchange of views. Be open and personal, and you will inspire the same in the visitor.

Also, do not overlook or rule out humor as a vehicle of communication. A Soviet's sense of humor can be surprisingly similar to an American's and a skillful use of it on both sides can bring down barriers with surprising speed.

VII. CONCLUSION

The task of bringing together Soviet and American citizens for the purpose of creating communication between the two is one of the most important in today's volatile world. The two peoples yearn for contact and understanding now as much as they ever have, and you as their facilitator will be highly regarded and thanked by both.

The two peoples have much to teach each other, and urgent messages to convey: Americans who can generally acknowledge their own imperfections and who are accustomed to self-criticism in all areas should demonstrate those qualities to their Soviet guests, for whom public self-criticism in some areas is less of a tradition. All parties need to accept some of the responsibility for better communication, in order for that dialogue to take place.

Soviets on their part have an intense interest in explaining to Americans their own perceptions about the two systems, and the reasons why they are often in opposition to each other. Americans who listen openly to a frank expression of the Soviet point of view about democracy and fairness stand to learn much about their own system and how it is perceived--and sometimes misunderstood--abroad.

The exchange process is a slow one, requiring patience and perseverance. Too many times in the past, Americans and their politicians have had unrealistic expectations about "getting together" quickly. They have also tended to ask too much too quickly of the Soviet side, while that side has been deliberate and slow to respond. Your organization can contribute much to the process if it is willing to move forward, one step at a time, but forward with determination.

Where you can keep pressing ahead despite setbacks, and not mind when things fail to work immediately, you will make the dialogue possible.

Where you can separate passion from reason, and let the latter guide you, you will ensure that the dialogue will be substantive rather than ideologically emotional, or, perhaps worse, just polite.

And where you are able to demonstrate the differences between the two systems, and to honor those differences while benefitting from the similarities, you will allow the dialogue to take root and create repercussions beyond the days and weeks of the exchange itself.

APPENDIX

1. An Historical Outline of U.S.-U.S.S.R. Cultural Exchange*

INTRODUCTION

This summary provides a brief history and current status of international efforts and official U.S. government programs which have promoted Soviet-American interchange and dialogue. Several sources were particularly helpful in developing this analysis. These include the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the U.S. Departments of Commerce and State, and the Helsinki Commission.

It is important to note that over the years a broad range of agencies has expended varying degrees of energy aimed at building a productive relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Many of the efforts have proven to be mutually beneficial.

Today, while official governmental contacts and exchange activities have been greatly reduced, unofficial private sector initiatives have continued to develop.

I. UNITED NATIONS AGREEMENTS AND MULTILATERAL ACCORDS

During 1924-36 a small number of American scholars studied in the Soviet Union. However, during and immediately following the years of World War II, virtually no exchanges took place.

The UN Charter, Chapter IX, Article 55, signed in 1945, provided for international economic and social cooperation in the post-war era. The most recent multi-lateral cooperative agreement resulted from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Concluded in Finland in 1975, it is known as the Helsinki Accords and includes a number of cooperative measures prescribed to improve East-West relations. The Final Act of the conference, which included the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. as signatories, is divided into three main sections. The second section deals with "Cooperation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment." The third section, signed by both parties, covers "Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields." This section calls for "increased flow of people, ideas and information through various cultural and educational exchanges." The long-range success of this controversial document is still under evaluation.

II. BILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE USA AND USSR

Formal bilateral agreements are to the advantage of both parties since they ensure at least a minimum of exchange, with structures in place to facilitate them.

*From Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations (Handbook sponsored by the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, prepared by Forum Institute). Washington, 1983, pp. 233-236. With modifications by the editor.

The bilateral exchange of intellectual and cultural resources directly between the two superpowers first became a goal at the Eisenhower-Khrushchev summit of 1955, and was implemented under the 1958 "Agreement Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on Exchanges in the Cultural, Technical, and Educational Fields." This agreement provided for exchanges in radio, television, film, industrial technology, agriculture and medicine; visits by representatives of cultural, civic, youth and student groups, theatrical, choral, and dance groups, orchestras, and other performers; visits by lecturing scientists and technicians, university delegations, and athletes; exchange of exhibits and publications; and the development of tourism. The agreement also initiated negotiations for direct commercial air travel between the two countries.

From 1959-72, these activities were sustained by a series of two-year exchange agreements administered on the U.S. side by the Department of State. On June 19, 1973, Presidents Nixon and Brezhnev renewed these as a six-year "General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation (Treaties and other International Acts Series 7649)." The General Agreement called for an annual exchange from each country of performing arts groups, one or two circulating exhibitions, and 62,000 copies of the magazines Amerika, and Soviet Life. The Agreement signed in 1973 went until December 31, 1979, when it lapsed without being renegotiated.

A. Government-to-Government Agreements

Beyond the General Agreement renewed in 1973, the Nixon-Brezhnev summits of 1972, '73, and '74 resulted in separate new cooperative agreements in eleven areas, administered in the U.S. by government agencies other than the Department of State. Table I illustrates these agreements and the executive secretaries responsible for their implementation in the U.S.

On December 31, 1979, shortly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the "General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation" expired. Under the circumstances, it was not renegotiated. Cooperative ventures under the scientific agreements were further reduced by President Carter's sanctions against the Soviet Union in January 1980. At that time, State Department officials implied that the framework was left in place to reactivate exchange and cooperation as soon as appropriate.

The Reagan administration has pursued a course of further reductions. Three of the eleven cooperative agreements expired in 1982 without renegotiation: Energy, Space, and Science and Technology, as did Transportation in 1983.

Policy level exchanges have taken place since 1980, including discussions on projected consulates in Kiev/New York and San Francisco /Leningrad, but no new programs are being organized. The Department of Energy and other U.S. agencies have been instructed to pursue only those projects of substantial benefit to the U.S., resulting in 50% cutbacks on one exchange and virtual shut-down of another.

The Agricultural Agreement is carried out by two working groups: economic, and research and technology. The former primarily benefits the U.S., the latter the U.S.S.R. This agreement was renewed in 1983 by the Reagan administration.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development indicates that two of their cooperative projects are active at this time: industrial building and utilities. Not having sufficient budget to effectively implement these exchanges, HUD makes up much of its delegations from the private sector.

B. Student and Scholar Exchanges

Student and scholar exchanges with Soviet universities have been undertaken through centralized arrangements based on formal agreements. Such arrangements were typically included under the umbrella of the US-USSR educational and exchange agreements which began in 1958. Scholarly exchanges have been carried out by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), which has been responsible, with US government support, for the administration of the basic parts of the educational section of the intergovernmental agreement, involving graduate and postgraduate students and research staff.

Since the 1960's, the Council on International Educational Exchange has sent numerous American university students of Russian language and area studies programs to Leningrad State University. In the early 1970's the American Council of Teachers of Russian established a similar program with the Pushkin Institute in Moscow, concentrating on summer language courses.

An exchange of lecturers has also been organized under the council for International Exchange of Scholars' Fulbright program. The National Academy of Sciences also conducts scholar exchange programs.

Within the past six years, direct exchanges between American and Soviet universities have supplemented the official programs. For a while, the State University of New York (SUNY) and the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) had the only private American scholar exchange programs with Moscow State University. Recently, Moscow State also began exchanging faculty directly with the University of Missouri at Kansas City and the California Institute of Technology.

C. Commercial Interchange

The one area of US-USSR exchange under government regulation which continues to flourish, in spite of tensions, is trade. President Reagan lifted former President Carter's grain embargo in April 1981. The Commerce Department estimates that 1981 exports to the U.S.S.R. amounted to nearly $2.5 billion; in 1982 to slightly more than that. 1983 projections approach $2.8 billion. Soviet exports to the United States, though minimal, have also increased fairly steadily. The details and parameters of this trade are of significant interest and may have important ramifications for exchange in other fields. They warrant further investigation and analysis.

D. Cultural Exchange

During the period 1958-79, when the General Agreement was in force, a number of official Soviet visitors came to the U.S. under a program of cultural exchange. They included high-ranking poets, artists, theater directors, musicians, military representatives, educators, and members of the Soviet Supreme Court, Politburo and Ministry of Culture.

The programs of these participants in leader exchange were administered by many of the American Council on Education from 1954 to 1963, the Council on Leaders and Specialists from 1963 to 1972, the Governmental Affairs Institute from 1972 to 1975, and with the Visitor Program Service of Meridian House International from 1975 to the present.[1]

E. Tourism

Until 1979 the Exchanges Agreement called for the encouragement of tourism on both sides. The Helsinki Accord called for the encouragement and facilitation of this type of exchange on the part of both governments.

As the peak period of Tourist exchanges in the 1970's, the All-Union Council of Labor Unions of the Soviet Union cooperated in this effort. In order to keep costs down for Soviet Visitors to the U.S., a "Fly and Cruise" program was initiated, enabling Soviet visitors to fly to New York on Aeroflot, and then cruise along the Atlantic seaboard in a Soviet ship. This allowed visitors to save on hotel costs.

During the peak year of 1979, 1500 to 2000 Soviets participated in this program, and an additional 1000 came on conventional tourist programs.

The flow of Soviet Tourists to the U.S. slowed dramatically in 1980, when U.S. labor unions announced they would not service Soviet ships or airplanes in the U.S. The program was halted almost totally in 1981, with the U.S. government-imposed embargo on incoming ships and airplanes from the U.S.S.R.

In mid-1984 a separate agreement on tourism is being negotiated between the two countries, in an attempt to restore Soviet tourism to the U.S. The outcome of these negotiation is not known at the time of this writing.[2]

1. For further information, please contact Jerome F. Margolius, now of the Visitor Program Service, who administered many of these programs.

2. For further information, please contact Cord Hansen-Sturm of General Tours.

TABLE I

Agreement	Year Signed and Renewed	Year Expires	Status
Space Cooperation	1972, 1977	1982	expired
Scientific and Technical Cooperation	1972, 1977	1982	expired
Energy	1974, 1979	1982	expired
Environmental Protection	1972, 1977	1982	renewed to 1987
Medical Science and Public Health	1972, 1977	1982	renewed to 1987
Artificial Heart Research	1972, 1977	1982	renewed to 1987
Transportation	1973, 1978	1983	expired
Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy	1973	1983	renewed to at least 1986, possibly 1988
Studies of the World Ocean	1973, 1978	1984	up for renewal
Housing and Other Construction	1974, 1979	1984	renewed to 1989

Major Soviet Organizations Which Could be Involved in Soviet-American Exchanges

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Politburo

Secretariat

Central Committee

Party Congress, C P S U

Regional Organizations

Republic
Oblast'
District

Local Organizations

City & Country
Precincts

(Also Komsomol Youth)

Primary Party Organizations
in plants & factories
state & collective farms
army units, educational, scientific,
cultural and medical organizations
commercial, transportation,
communication, etc., where
three or more party members are.

Government of the USSR

Council of Ministers - Executive

e.g. Ministry of Culture
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Higher & Secondary Education
Ministry of International Affairs (MVD)
Department of Visas & Registration (OVIR)
Ministry of the Maritime Fleet

e.g. State Committee for Tourism
State Committee for Science & Technology
State Committee for State Security (KGB)
State Committee for TV & Radio Broadcasting
State Committee for Physical Culture & Sports

Foreign Trade Bank
USSR Chamber of Commerce
Council for Religious Affairs
State Board of Arbitration

USSR Supreme Soviet

Republic Soviets
Oblast' & District Soviets
Local Soviets

USSR Supreme Court & Procuracy

Republic & lower courts
both criminal and civil

Other Organizations

Academy of Sciences of the USSR
also:
Republic Academies
Foreign Relations Administration
Economics Institute
State & Law Institute
USA & Canada Institute
World Economics & International Relations Institute

Professional Organizations

e.g. Union of Writers, Artists, Journalists, Architects
Association of Jurists
Hermitage Museum, Lenin Library
All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

Religious Groups - Russian Orthodox Baptists, Islam, Jewish, Lutheran, etc.

Foreign Liaison Groups

e.g. Committees of Soviet Women, War Veterans, Youth Organizations, for the Defense of Peace

Union of Soviet Societies for Friendshi and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries

Functional Groups, e.g. medical, legal educational

USSR - USA Society with affiliates outside Moscow

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3. Reading List

Dr. Jonathan Sanders, of the Harriman Institute, puts the following books among those he would recommend to the person wanting a broad introduction to the Soviet Union, its history, people and culture.

Publications List

Byrnes, Robert F., ed., After Brezhnev: Sources of Conduct in the 1980s, Midland, 1983.

Cohen, Stephen F., et al, Soviet Union Since Stalin, Midland 1980.

Cracraft, James, ed., The Soviet Union Today, University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Grigorenko, Petro, Memoirs, Norton, 1983.

Hanson, Carola, and Karen Liden, Moscow Women, Pantheon, 1983.

Kaiser, Robert G., Russia: The People and the Power, New York, Atheneum, 1976.

Kerblay, Basile, Modern Soviet Society, Pantheon, 1983.

Klose, Kevin, Russia and the Russians, Norton, 1984.

Medvedev, Roy A., End to Silence, Norton, 1982.

Orlova, Raisa, Memoirs, Random House, 1983.

Pond, Elizabeth, From the Yaroslavky Station: Russia Perceived, Universe, 1981.

Smith, Hedrick, The Russians, Quadrangle, 1976.

Trifonov, Yuri, Another Life: The House on the Enbankment, Simon and Schuster, 1983.

NOTE: A more complete list of books prepared by several Sovietologists and broken into professional categories, may be obtained from the Citizen Exchange Council, 18 East 41st Street, New York, NY 10017.

4. Individual Invitations

In certain rare instances, it may be possible to invite Soviet individuals directly, without going through a sponsoring organization. This is particularly the case with relatives and long-standing friends.

The following form is a model of the one necessary for this purpose. It is not necessary for invitations being processed by Soviet sponsoring organizations.

Additional information on the "Vyzov" can be obtained at the U.S. Department of State, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, or at the Public Cultural Exchange Office of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

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INVITATION
ПРИГЛАШЕНИЕ /ВЫЗОВ/

I, the undersigned _____
Я, нижеподписавшийся (full name) (полное имя)

a citizen (permanent resident) of the United States of America
гражданин (постоянный житель) Соединенных Штатов Америки

invite my _____
приглашаю своего (свою) (степень родства)

_____ _____
(full name) (полное имя)

born _____ _____
(full date and place of birth) (полная дата и место рождения)

a citizen of the USSR, now residing at _____
гражданина (гражданку) СССР, ныне проживающего по адресу

_____

to visit (live permanently) with me in the United States.
к себе в гости (на постоянное жительство) в Соединенные Штаты Америки.

I am fully capable of supporting the above named person, providing
Я имею возможность материально обеспечить вышеуказанное лицо, оплатить

for any medical expenses, and guaranteeing living quarters during
любые медицинские расходы и гарантирую жилплощадь во время

his (her) stay in the United States, where he (she) will reside
его (ее) пребывания в Соединенных Штатах, где он (она) будет проживать

with me at the following address _____
со мной по адресу

_____

_____
(Petitioner's signature)
(подпись просителя)

State _____
Штат

County _____
Район

City _____
Город

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19___
Подписано под присягой в моем присутствии

SEAL
ПЕЧАТЬ

_____
(Notary Public)
(Нотариус)

5. U.S. Visas

Most Soviet visitors to the U.S. travel on B-1 (business) or B-2 (tourist) visas, with the only real exceptions being U.N. diplomats and spouses of other visitors. J-1 visas are issued only for participants in official (i.e., government-sponsored) exchange; H-1 visas, reserved "for distinguished merit and ability," go principally to musicians and other artists of world-wide renown. In 1983 2070 B-1 visas went to Soviet citizens; 2350 B-2 visas, 128 J-1's and 11 H-1's.

Normally Soviet invitees present their visa applications to their own organizations which forward them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The MFA in turn presents them to the Embassy's Consular Section with whatever supporting information they choose to include. Formally the U.S. procedure of visa issuance does not begin until the visa applications are submitted to the Embassy and a routine cable requesting visa authorization is sent to the Department of State. The procedure for visa issuance is then governed by Department regulations and pertinent legislation.

Often these visa applications are not submitted with the necessary supporting documentation from the American hosts. In these cases, the Department makes an effort to check with the appropriate American organizations. To ensure timely issuance of visas, organizing committees would be well advised to inform the Embassy and the Department of State's Soviet desk officer well in advance of the venue of the meeting, the proposed dates, the purpose of the meeting, a list of Soviet invitees and proposed intineraries.

6. Addresses of Organizations Mentioned in this Handbook

Embassy of the United States of America
Ul. Chaykovskovo 19/23
Moscow
U.S.S.R.

Telex: 413160 USGSO SU
Telephone: 252 24 51-59

Mail can be sent for domestic U.S. postal rates to:

AmEmbassy Moscow
APO
New York, New York 09862

Public Cultural Exchange Office
Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
1825 Phelps Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202-332-1466

Dr. Grant Pendill
American Committee on East-West Accord
109 11th Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Telephone: 202-546-1700

Dr. Dan Davidson
American Council for Teachers of Russian
815 New Gulph Road
Bryn Mawr, PA 19010

Telephone: 215-525-6559

Mr. Steven Hayes
AFS International/Intercultural Programs
313 E. 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

Telephone: 212-661-4550

Ms. Laurama Pixton
American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Telephone: 215-241-7000

Mr. Fran Macy, Executive Director
Association for Humanistic Psychology
325 Ninth Street
San Francisco, California 94103

Telephone: 415-626-2375

Dr. Mark Scott, Executive Director
Athletes United for Peace
P.O. Box 1776
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Telephone: 913-843-6435

Mr. Alan Campbell
1915 N. Johnson Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

Telephone: 703-524-3329

Dr. Michael Brainerd
Citizen Exchange Council
18 East 41st Street
Suite 2004
New York, New York 10017

Telephone: 212-889-7960

Ms. Anne Cahn, Executive Director
Committee for National Security
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202-833-3140

Mr. Philip Ruopp
Charles F. Kettering Foundation
5335 Far Hills Avenue
Dayton, Ohio 45429

Telephone: 513-434-7300

Ms. Cynthia Sittler
Council for International Educational Exchange
205 E. 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

Telephone: 212-661-1414

Mr. Paul Von Ward, President
Delphi Research Associates
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036

Telephone: 202-466-7951

Mr. James Hickman, Executive Director
Esalen Soviet-American Exchange
3105 Washington Street
San Francisco, California 94115

Telephone: 415-563-4731

Mr. Cord Hansen-Sturm
General Tours
711 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Telephone: 212-687-7400

Mr. Earl Molander
Ground Zero Pairing Project
P.O. Box 19049
Portland, OR 97219

Telephone: 503-245-3403

Mr. Julian MacDonald
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
11 Dupont Circle, Suite 300
Washington,D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202-833-4960

Dr. Jonathan Sanders
The W. Averell Harriman Institute
for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union
420 West 118th Street
New York, New York 10027

Telephone: 212-280-4633

Dr. Dan Matuszewski
International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
655 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Telephone: 212-490-2002

Professor William Flinn
Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc.
134 Derby Hall, 154 N. Oval Mall
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Telephone: 614-422-2755

Rev. Dwain Epps
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA
475 Riverside Drive, Room 572
New York, New York 10115

Telephone: 212-870-2422

Mr. Yale Richmond
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone: 202-225-1901

Mr. Melvin Thompson
National 4-H Council
7100 Connecticut Avenue
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

Telephone: 301-656-9000

Mrs. William Menninger
People to People International
2440 Pershing Road, Suite G-30
Kansas City, Missouri 64108

Telephone: 816-421-6343

Mr. Tom Gittens
Sister Cities International
1625 Eye Street, N.W., #424-26
Washington, D.C. 20006

Telephone: 202-293-5504

Ms. Laura Petrochko
State University of New York
International Program
State University Plaza
Albany, New York 12246

Telephone: 518-473-7909

Professor George A. Russell
University of Missouri - Kansas City
5100 Rockhill Road
Kansas City, Missouri 64110

Telephone: 816-276-1107

Ms. Alla Dombrozki
European Programs Branch
Office of Academic Exchange
United States Information Agency
301 4th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

Telephone: 202-485-7420

USA/USSR Citizens' Dialogue
777 UN Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Telephone: 212-682-3633

Alternate address:
Ms. Carol Pendell
1565 Ocean Boulevard
Balboa, CA 92661

Telephone: 714-673-4135

Mr. Clinton Gardner, Executive Director
U.S. - U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace
Box 283, Emerson House
Norwich, VT 05055

Telephone: 802-644-1000

Mr. Jerome F. Margolius
Visitors Program Service of
Meridian House International
1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202-822-8688